1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

saying that he was wealthy. I do not know which of these attributes had the greatest influence in winning him eleven wives. 595

Normally marriage is patrilocal, though instances to the contrary are not infrequent. Nor is it unusual for a man to spend long periods in the village of his wife, for, as we have found, there is usually a close intimacy between the two sides of the united family. It is said that a kindly husband will make allowance for his wife's homesickness. But in cases of what seems more or less permanent matrilocal marriage, the offspring still belong emphatically to the father's clan. 591

The evidence regarding exogamy is not entirely consistent. Some witnesses have said it is not permissible for a man to marry a woman of his own clan. For this two arguments have been put forward, but neither throws much light on the matter. If a girl married a man of her own clan, where, it was asked, would the pay or bride-price come from? On another occasion a witness said that if a man and wife of the same clan happened to quarrel they would both find themselves calling the name of the same *beratu* or plant emblem; and the neighbours overhearing would shake their heads or turn up their noses at the idea of marriage between two of the same clan. Other informants have expressed repugnance at the suggestion of marriage with a *du* or 'sister', so that it would appear that in general theory at least the clan should be exogamous. As for the village group (in which there may be several clans), it cannot be called exogamous even in theory. It has been stated, on the contrary, that in a village where there happens to be a number of attractive girls it is a wise thing for the young men of that village to marry them and keep them at home. And this precept was made applicable to the clan itself by some informants; for the rule of clan exogamy was actually in some cases denied. 582

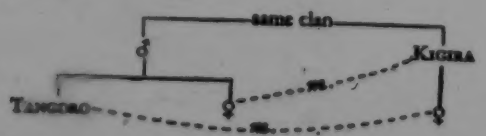
When we consult the facts we find that marriage is usually outside the clan, but that the exceptions are numerous enough to prove that clan exogamy is not a hard and fast rule. It also appears that marriage is usually outside the

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

582 village, though the exceptions are just as numerous. The most notable example came from the Aiga village Ehenada (a large and rambling one, it is true), where of twelve men questioned, all of whom belonged to Ehenada and the clan Asiahije, no less than five had married women of the same village and the same clan. Again in two neighbouring villages of the Simborota clan I found five inter-marriages.

Marriage is common between first cousins, though in no recorded instance did these cousins belong to one and the same clan. We may probably assume that the marriage of first cousins within the clan is forbidden, although the general rule of clan exogamy is often disregarded. There is no rule against marrying out of one's generation, and I have several cases of marriage between a man and his *iai*, or daughter in the classificatory sense.

It will be seen that there is no great severity in the matter of marriage prohibitions; and as for positive regulations I cannot find that there are at present any prescribed classes into which a man is obliged to marry. The two following examples of marriage relations within the clan were not regarded with any disapproval:



(Tangoro called Kigira *Mama* until the latter married Tangoro's sister, when he called him *Naburi*. Now Tangoro has married Kigira's daughter and therefore calls him *Atau*. It will be noted that the wives are of the same clan as their husbands.)

(In this case Kotuta and Harumi are respectively *hitopumi* and *hitaudo* to one another, and Hotota is *iai* to her husband.)

We may be surprised at the laxity of marriage regulations,

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

but there is no reason to suppose that they are due to degeneracy or a modern neglect of old social laws. The above facts relate to the Aiga, and although this tribe has long been under Government control and has sent many boys to indentured labour, it has never had white residents among it and has not been under a missionary. I cannot see, therefore, what new influences as yet should have broken down the old marriage restrictions, such as they were, among the Aiga tribe. 582

It may be mentioned that there is in native life always a certain degree of local endogamy following as a necessary result from the tribal enmities which make it dangerous for a man to go too far afield. Among the Orokaiva, however, where the tribes are very large, this is less pronounced than in some other parts of the Territory, and it cannot have given rise to that degree of inbreeding which is found in those parts and which has been by some so seriously regarded.

Courtship. Young children are sometimes betrothed by their parents. This transaction is called *kerari*, and from the beginning the boy's father will make continual presents of food to the girl's people, by which he lays them under an obligation. The *kerari*, while perfectly regular, is relatively uncommon. Witnesses have said that it invariably implies an exchange, i.e. the adult parties to the transaction each have both a boy and a girl at their disposal. Consequently the gifts of food are in the ordinary instance reciprocal. The *kerari* betrothal will probably reach a happy ending in marriage, but it is always subject to a sudden alteration when a pubescent girl or boy begins to show wayward preferences. It is said that a parent will urge his daughter to marry the boy she is pledged to without undue delay, for fear she should take a fancy to some other and let her father down by decamping. 584 [431]

One is happy to say, however, that courtship usually takes a more romantic form than that of child betrothal. There is a word with a somewhat intriguing sound, viz. *kigi*, which implies clandestine meetings and love-making in the bush. A boy will go to where he knows a girl is at work in